

What Next in Europe?

"The Evils That Flow From the Paris Treaties Are Injuring Europe More Seriously Than Did the War Itself"

This is the eighth of a series of ten articles written by Mr. Vandellip on conditions in Europe as he observed them during a four months' trip through fifteen countries.

The ninth, outlining his plan for a "Gold Reserve Bank" of Europe, will be published in to-morrow's Tribune.

By Frank A. Vandellip

The hurt which Europe is feeling so poignantly is not the direct wound of the war. Certainly that wound was horribly severe, but in a sense it was a comparatively clear wound and could have been healed in time. The distress that Europe is suffering, a distress that is progressive, the outcome of which no man may predict with assurance, arises less from the direct injury of the war than from the indirect consequences of the peace. There has been a general dislocation in Europe of the economic organization of life. That is the chief cause of Europe's suffering to-day.

Many of the roots of that suffering run directly into that ground of the various treaties of Paris which made peace, or attempted to make peace, with all Central Europe from the Mediterranean to the Baltic.

My feeling is that the various peace treaties that were written at Paris contained much that was unjust and unkind. Magnanimity was wholly lacking. The treaties were dictated in a spirit of reprisal, revenge and selfishness, and in economic blindness. The evils that flow from those unhappy facts are injuring Europe more seriously than did the war itself.

Treaties Were Concealed in Hatred and Malice

One does not need to be a prophet to see that these treaties were conceived in hatred and malice. In the minds of their makers they had a background of an awful irreparable injury they had suffered.

When treaties are so made, they are not healing documents. Outside of the provision for the League of Nations, there is nothing in the various treaties of Paris that is healing. It is very difficult to see how a continent afflicted with them can recover until they are rewritten; for that they will be rewritten is inevitable. They have set up political situations as unstable as quicksilver. They have drawn national boundaries which may be erased like pencil marks. They have created economic situations which must be altered, or whole peoples must economically perish.

It does not seem likely that any of these changes will be made by the Allies. Nevertheless changes are inevitable. There is an amazing situation surrounding these treaties. I will make the assertion that there is not a well-informed man in Europe who will wholeheartedly defend them. I mean this sweeping statement. I really, nevertheless, the treaties stand as a sanct. They are holy and cannot be altered in a letter. Nobody believes in their wisdom and justice, and nobody believes in the wisdom and justice of revising them by agreement.

France is universally charged with being the stumbling block in the way of a measure true, but even a most responsible of French statesmen will privately admit that unfairness, unkindness and injustice are imbedded in them.

Self-Determination Method Calamity as Great as War

Application of the principles of self-determination as carried out by these treaties was a most dangerous experiment. Its result has proven to be one of the greatest curses that has fallen upon Europe. That does not mean that self-determination is a bad thing. It is now perfectly clear that it was an error to permit self-determination to create a number of new states, each believing itself to be sovereign, without at the same time controlling the relations of these states to each other. That was a calamity as great as war.

It was within the power of the treaty-makers of Paris to have so federated these states that the economic possibilities arising from them would have been self-determination would not have been so certain. Perhaps there was fear that federated states would become dangerous political units. The alternative of creating states in which national antagonisms were fanned by white heat and leaving them wholly unrestrained in their relations to each other is proving to be a most dangerous. It is leading to economic decay and the breakdown of the machinery of interference by which the industrial populations are supported.

The Treaty of Trianon, by which the terms of peace were imposed upon Hungary, has been characterized by Lord Newton as "the most disastrous and senseless action for which history has any statement have been responsible."

If there could be a just weighing of war guilt, Hungary would probably have to shoulder no small burden of responsibility. But whatever that responsibility may be, she must have fully expiated it in the horrors of peace.

No weapon was ever more savagely used in the war than was the map-maker's pen in drawing the new Hungary. Hungary had been a consolidated kingdom for a thousand years, and its boundaries had been better delineated by nature. Mountains and rivers formed those boundaries. Few countries in the world had been outlined by geographical conditions. Most of the people composing it were of related stock.

The treaty was formed out of the center of the old kingdom a new and little nation. Nearly two-thirds of the territory and the population of old Hungary was carved out of it, leaving not a single Hungarian in the new state. The boundaries of the great war, this mutilation of the peace stands out in sharp prominence.

After the terms of the Treaty of Trianon came to be understood there flamed up in what was left of Hungary without precedent feeling. Every political thought that was not molded into a determination that some day this mutilated country should regain its old boundaries. On the door of every house in Budapest was nailed a map that showed the boundaries of the old kingdom, within which were the lines of mutilation that the new map-making had drawn. Under this map was the legend in Magyar: "No, never, never!"

Economic Blunders Are Greater Than Political

The economic blindness with which these new frontiers were drawn was even greater than the political blunders. One finds beet fields on one side of the national line and the factory that would turn the product into sugar on the other side. Lines of transportation are so cut that they cease to be of much economic value.

Tariff barriers have divided old friends. Hungarians in the segregated territories have suffered persecutions that make it impossible for them to continue to live there. Czechoslovakia decided that former Hungarian lands could be bought at 1914 prices and paid for in 1920 depreciated currency. Jews, Slovaks and other agricultural tracts that were Hungarian owned on the theory that they wanted small peasant holdings, but no Hungarian peasant could acquire title to a new holding.

The government in Transylvania is characterized by even English observers as "profoundly unsatisfactory." Under Rumanian rule Transylvania is largely governed by secret police, who seem to have taken Bolshevik Russia as a model. Any native may be brought before the Rumanian secret police and sentenced without legal proceedings. They are dogged and sent to prison without any assigned reason.

The Rumanian language has been made compulsory. Land owners are dispossessed and homes are requisitioned on the name of the protest, which is the grossest corruption prevails among officials.

There is poison, not healing, in the Treaty of Trianon.

When at Paris the new nation of Poland was extemporized and no guiding force created, obvious necessary precautions were neglected in a way that threatens the permanent existence of reconstituted Poland. The Poles were without political experience, for they had been excluded from government for generations.

They had to create the machinery for the government of a nation of 30,000,000 overnight, and the material out of which they had to build the new government was utterly untrained to the responsibilities of government. Poland was left with inadequate borders on every side and with the Red army of Bolshevism threatening to strike at its heart. It is small wonder that mistakes were made. It would have been impossible to have proceeded without making almost fatal errors.

These mistakes have already bankrupted Poland, perhaps not irretrievably, for it is a rich country, but for the time being it presents a sorry financial spectacle, and as a political unit it is unstable.

Italy Arouses Jealousy Of Allies in Asia Minor

England, France and Italy, none of them honestly believing in the open door, set about staking out spheres of influence in Asia Minor. Each had its own advantages and closing territories to freedom of commercial intercourse. England and France are constitutionalists, and Italy is obtaining an especial advantage in the Balkans and in partitioning Asia Minor commercially were hardly drawn before Italy's vigorous action in that field came to a halt.

The Turkish position of her associates. So the plan was devised of injecting Greece into the situation.

Asia Minor is Turkish, with a fringe of Greek population along the Mediterranean water front. The problem of making the Turks and the Greeks live peacefully together is as difficult as to make Irishmen and Englishmen agree on political views. The Turkish is a fighter and an agriculturalist. The commercial instinct is completely left out of his makeup. Left to itself a Turkish community might survive, because it would lack the ability to exchange its goods effectively.

The Greek has the commercial instinct in a high degree, and so all through the Turkish Empire the Greek has performed the necessary service of turning the channels for commerce. His commercial honor is not high, and now we know, after a brief experience in Asia Minor, that he has little political administrative ability.

If I have imagined rightly the situation in Asia Minor, and my vision have been formed on high testimony, the permanency of Greek occupation is impossible. If you put two highly bred lions in a pen together and left them to fight it out, you would find about as humane a situation as you have with Turks and Greeks both at hand.

The Treaty of Sevres, which was designed to make terms of peace with Turkey, was never ratified by any party to it and has permanently filled in the waste basket of European politics.

Venizelos claimed the penmanship of Paris and they wisely carved out an empire for Greece. Along the whole northern coast of the Aegean, Macedonia and Thrace were cut away from Bulgaria, Bulgaria and Turkey were given over to Greek administration.

This has resulted in a monumental political administrative disaster. Hundreds of thousands of Turks, Bulgarians and Slavs have been turned into homeless refugees and are to-day

crowding Belgrade, Sofia and Constantinople.

Constantinople Is Cut Off From All Means of Support

Constantinople is cut off from all means of support. The countries surrounding the Black Sea are economic deserts. No food comes west through the Dardanelles. Constantinople, its population augmented by 300,000 refugees, Turks and by thousands of penniless Russians, must import everything it eats, wears or uses. There is not a factory of any kind in the city.

The situation in which the Treaty of Sevres and subsequent acts have left Constantinople is a dangerous threat, not only to the stability of the Near East but to the lives of the 1,500,000 people of Constantinople, who have been left in extreme economic insecurity. The carrying up of the Hapsburg empire has left Austria with its one great city supported by a thin strip of Alpine country. It has been characterized as a nation economically deprived of arm and leg. If that is the way to characterize the economic position of Austria, what is to be said of Constantinople? It is a head severed from the body.

The Treaty of Sevres then established the poor administration of the Greek government over a number of new possessions; it started a new war in Asia Minor and it broke up the old peaceful arrangements between the Greeks and the Turks, by which the trading of the latter marketed the produce raised by the Turks. It has created hatreds where there was some basis for friendship before.

I have said little about the Treaty of Versailles and the treatment of Germany and Austria, or about the claims for reparation, the terms of which are obviously impossible of enforcement.

The contrast between the spirit of the fourteenth points and the spirit of the Treaty of Versailles is complete. Copyright, 1921, by Harcourt Brace & Co., published by special arrangement with The Tribune Newspaper Syndicate.

Japan to Admit Mrs. Sanger, but Bars Her Creed

Promise to Refrain From Birth Control Teachings Price of Admittance, Says Cable From Tokio

TOKIO, Feb. 20.—The instructions of the Japanese Foreign Office to the Japanese Consulate in San Francisco that it refused to give the passport of Mrs. Margaret Sanger, head of the Birth Control League, were on the grounds that propaganda along the lines it was understood she proposed was illegal in Japan and an improper subject for public discussion. The Foreign Office's action, however, it was stated by an official to-day, did not mean that Mrs. Sanger would be denied admission to Japan.

Yusuke Akamatsu, chief of the immigration section of the Foreign Office, said to-day the action taken was intended as a warning to Mrs. Sanger that she would not be permitted to lecture and to forestall any complaint that she did not know the Japanese attitude in advance. Statements that she would not be permitted to land in Japan were incorrect, he declared. On the contrary, she would undoubtedly receive permission to enter the country, upon the condition that she would not attempt propaganda.

More Meeting Testimony

Commissioner of Accounts Hirschfeld reopened his investigation yesterday into the police interference of the birth control meeting which was held at Town Hall on November 13, 1921. Several police witnesses were called to testify as to the source of the order to stop the meeting.

Police Inspector James E. Bolan, of the Fourth Inspection District, denied that he ordered Captain Donohue, of the West Forty-seventh Street police station, to stop it. Captain Donohue had previously testified that the order came from Police Headquarters.

Inspector Bolan admitted that he recognized Captain Donohue on the night of the meeting. He said he called from his home and not from Police Headquarters. He said that he recalled to Captain Donohue that the meeting was to be held and asked him if he had the meeting "covered," meaning that he had assigned policemen to the meeting to see that the law was not being violated.

Inspector Bolan said that he advised the captain to send a couple of plainclothesmen to the hall to mingle with the audience and to go down himself and take a sergeant with him.

Commissioner Hirschfeld explained at the conclusion of the meeting that he wanted to clear up this particular point in order to stop editorial comments of newspapers insinuating that he had discontinued the hearings at a time when they might be disclosed from what source the order had come.

Valuations Put on Rail Assets in City By Transit Bureau and by Companies

Following is a summary of the valuations placed on the railroad systems of the city by the Bureau of Valuation of the Transit Commission, compared with capitalization [stocks and bonds held by investors] and amounts at which the properties are valued on the books of the respective companies. The schedule shows:

(1) Valuation recommended by Bureau of Valuation (original cost less estimated expenditures necessary to put properties in first class operating condition);

(2) Par value of securities outstanding in hands of public (excluding inter-company holdings), and;

(3) Companies' book values:

	Net Valuation recommended.	Capital stocks, bonds, etc., outstanding.	Companies' book value of property.
Brooklyn Rapid Transit System			
Surface lines (including Brooklyn City Company)	\$58,511,759		
Elevated and subway lines	96,096,918		
Total B. R. T. System	\$154,608,677	\$232,175,074	\$747,901,278
Interborough Rapid Transit System			
I. R. T. Co. Contracts 1, 2 and 3	135,069,555		
I. R. T. Co. Elevated certificates	38,551,501		
Total I. R. T. System	\$173,621,056	\$232,175,074	\$206,945,378
Manhattan Railway Company (original property)	57,374,205	105,199,139	113,091,414
New York Railway System (including Eighth, Ninth and New York & Harlem Railroad Company)	22,871,785	95,667,189	119,084,604
Third Avenue Railway System	33,967,430	68,509,961	74,702,231
Second Avenue Railway Company	4,798,317	10,722,000	8,308,443
Staten Island Company	1,855,516	3,855,516	5,702,670
Queens Borough Company	6,125,764	12,874,786	18,577,788
Miscellaneous companies	497,207	650,000	758,061
Grand total, all companies	\$465,680,154	\$765,094,365	\$701,430,839

Transit Board Cuts Traction Values in Half

(Continued from page one)

The commission proposes to junk as well as those to be absorbed under the plan of consolidation.

Expenditures necessary to place the railroad properties in first class operating condition, the bureau figured, would amount to \$55,801,137. This was divided as follows: Brooklyn Rapid Transit system, \$17,104,800; Interborough Rapid Transit system, \$16,514,197; New York Railway system, \$15,176,929; Third Avenue Railway system, \$4,377,408; Second Avenue Railway Company, \$3,925,265; Staten Island Company, \$801,945; Queensborough Company, \$1,627,972; miscellaneous companies, \$76,276.

Basis of Bureau Findings

In addition to the factors mentioned in the accompanying table, the bureau based its findings on three other elements, namely:

Original cost of the properties, less straight line depreciation, \$25,360,115. Cost to reproduce at new prices (1910-14), less depreciation, \$187,724,313.

Cost to reproduce at prices of the first half of 1921, less depreciation, \$571,048,271.

The Bureau of Valuation recommended the basis of original cost, less the amount found necessary to put the properties in first class operating condition, upon the ground that the other three bases represent theoretical cost values rather than the actual expenditures that were required to produce the properties actually in use to-day.

This recommendation if adopted, it was pointed out, would mean that the securities would be allowed in new companies actually made in producing the existing properties, but no more, and that from this would be deducted the amount necessary at present prices to put the properties in shape for efficient service to the public.

There is still to be prepared, the bureau reported, a fifth set of figures showing the estimated future earning capacity of each of the railroads, upon the basis of the five-cent fare and present conditions of management.

No Change for Allowance

The transit act requires, it was pointed out, that the regard be given to such an estimate in fixing the figures at which the properties will be taken over. The commission, however, is of the opinion, it is understood, that this fifth set of figures will not materially change the aggregate allowance.

In opening the hearing Chairman McAneny said:

"It is not proposed that the acquisition of the properties by the city shall be upon the basis of payments in cash."

EXHIBITION TO-DAY and To-morrow (Washington's Birthday)

The Distinguished

BAXTER COLLECTION

Comprising the Entire Contents of

JOHN W. BAXTER'S COUNTRY ESTATE

"The Villa Melissa," Greenwich, Conn.

and his TOWN RESIDENCE in the

HOTEL AMBASSADOR

SALE Begins Saturday, Feb. 25 AT 2:30 P.M.

and Continues February 27-28, March 1-2-3-4

Illustrated Catalogue de Luxe Mailed on Receipt of \$2.50

Clarke's

The Sale will be conducted by MR. AUGUSTUS W. CLARKE

44 East 58th Street

Catholic Priest Among Donors For Jewish Relief

Campaign Begun by 5,000 Canvassers to Collect \$5,000,000 Needed for Famine-Stricken Victims

Five thousand volunteer canvassers began a campaign among the Jews of New York yesterday to collect the balance of \$5,000,000, which has been set as New York City's quota in the national movement for relief of famine-stricken Jews. The work is being done under auspices of the American Jewish Relief Committee, 103 Park Avenue.

In addition to \$1,100,000 pledged in a gathering at the Hotel Commodore Sunday night, new subscriptions aggregating \$175,000 were announced yesterday. The fund-raising activities are being handled by teams working in every business and profession, as well as by committees covering all residential sections of the five boroughs. Scores of volunteers reported at New York headquarters, 145 Fifth Avenue, during the day.

David A. Brown, chairman of the National Appeal, said last night he felt confident the full quota would be raised without difficulty.

One of the first contributions to be received yesterday was that of Father James M. Byrnes, pastor of St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church in Grand Street, who forwarded a check for \$250. In a note to Judge Otto A. Rosinsky Father Byrnes said:

"Enclosed please find check for the starving, helpless children on the other side. I am sorry I cannot send a larger amount for your deserving charity."

Rolls of New York campaign workers will be held on again on Thursday afternoon at 4:20 and again on Thursday afternoon. At to-day's meeting Morris D. Waldman, director of Child Welfare and Medical Aid, and Secretary Work for the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee in Europe, will describe what he

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